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CATULLUS AND THE AUGUSTANS

BY EDWARD KENNARD RAND

IN a review of Lucian Müller's *Quintus Horatius Flaccus, eine literarhistorische Biographie*, 1880, Alexander Riese¹ expressed the hope that a certain *Schatten und Schemen* would disappear forever from modern discussions of Latin literature. This phantom is the opinion, vigorously set forth by Müller in the above-mentioned essay, that Horace and Virgil were violent opponents of the Alexandrine school in Roman poetry, and of Catullus, as one of the chief representatives of this school. The phantom can hardly be said to have been banished yet. Though Müller's views do not appear in any of the larger histories of Latin literature,² and, among the editors of Catullus, Baehrens³ joins Riese to the extent of regarding Horace's coolness toward Catullus as exceptional, Müller himself made no change in his belief. In his edition of the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace (1891), he touches on the question⁴ without mentioning Riese, but referring once more to his own remarks in his earlier work. Likewise in the posthumous edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes*, published by Goetz (1900), there are no indications that Müller had surrendered his former position. Nor does he stand alone in this matter. Robinson Ellis, in his *Commentary on Catullus*,⁵ declares that "Horace's sneer no doubt expresses the position of the Augustan poets to Catullus; they belonged to an epoch which, greatly as it was influenced by the era which preceded it, was in the main antagonistic to its chief representatives, and this for literary no less than political reasons." With these emphatic statements from two eminent scholars, the authors of standard editions of Horace

¹ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1881, p. 460.

² Except Cruttwell (p. 237) who speaks of the poet's popularity as "obscured" during the Augustan period.

³ In his edition (1885), II, p. 62. Cf. Riese's edition (1884), p. xxxiii.

⁴ On *Sat.* I, 10, 19.

⁵ 1889, p. xx.

and Catullus, we may well pause to consider whether the phantom-idea denounced by Riese has not flesh and blood after all; or, if he is right, it is time to dismiss permanently what impresses me as still a widely accepted notion that Catullus was not duly appreciated by the Augustans.

If it were not for Horace's apparent contempt, we should hardly infer from general considerations that the poetry of Catullus went into an eclipse in the Augustan Age. Despite the marked differences between this and the preceding period in both political sentiment and literary tendency, individual poets did not fail to look for inspiration to their precursors, whatever their school. Thus Virgil turns to Lucretius. Though the *Georgics* contains a fundamental criticism of the spirit of the *De Rerum Natura*, Virgil aims at rivalry, not depreciation, and pays his predecessor the compliment of frequent imitation. Further, the Augustan Age, though consecrated in the main to the revival and consummation of epic feeling, comprised various minor literary tendencies as well, among them the further development of Alexandrine motives. Sometimes the old form, transfused with the spirit of the age, becomes a new literary variety, as in Virgil's pastorals, epic through and through; sometimes form and spirit both are reproduced, as in much of Ovid's work. Certainly the writers of elegy had no quarrel with the Alexandrines, and none with Catullus. He does not belong technically in the elegiac canon, and therefore is not included in Ovid's list of his precursors.¹ But the spiritual kinship of his work with theirs was obvious to the Augustan elegists. Ovid and Propertius are outspoken in their admiration,² and while Tibullus has no mention of him, and few if any imitations, Ovid would not have pictured the elder poet as welcoming the younger in Elysium,³ had the latter felt a marked antipathy to Catullus. Apart from the elegy, various minor poets of the period speak reverently of Catullus or copy him in their works; among them

¹ *Trist.* 4, 10, 53 ff. See Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgesch.* § 269, and Jacoby, in his penetrating, but by no means conclusive, attempt to prove that the Romans invented the personal love-elegy; *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), p. 84.

² See Ovid, *Amores* 3, 15, 7 Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo; Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego. Propertius 3, 34, 87 Haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli | Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.

³ *Amor.* 3, 9, 62 Obvius huic venias hedera iuvenilia cinctus | tempora cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo.

are Maecenas, Domitius Marsus, Lygdamus, and the authors of the *Dirae*, the *Lydia*, and, above all, the *Ciris*. This narrows considerably our field of investigation; of the poets whose works are now extant, only Virgil and Horace remain. Leaving the more difficult problem for the moment, let us consider, so far as it may be inferred, the nature of Virgil's estimate.

That various reminiscences of Catullus appear in Virgil's verse is a well-known fact, recognized by Ellis¹ in the very passage in which he speaks of the antagonism of the Augustans to Catullus. To the coincidences already noted, I can add but one; my object is rather to consider the character of Virgil's imitations, which have been detected but not yet adequately discussed.²

One significance of the minor poems, attributed to Virgil, is that they give evidence of a distinctly Catullan period in his career. And why may we not safely attribute to him many pieces, though not all, in the collection transmitted under his name? It is possible to discard them all as supposititious, regarding Suetonius as the victim of an erroneous tradition; it is hardly possible, with Schanz and other critics, to accept a few of the epigrams and discredit everything else. While few care to claim the *Aetna*, the *Dirae*, the *Ciris* for Virgil, reputable scholars still ascribe the *Culex*, the *Copa*, the *Moretum* to him. Certainly for the *Culex* the external testimony is so strong that strict logic forces us to accept the traditional authorship until positive proof of the spurious character of the poem be alleged. But that has not been done;³ the very crudities of the work are what we should expect from an undeveloped genius of sixteen.⁴ The influence of Lucretius is more

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

² I have depended chiefly on the collections of A. Danysz, *De scriptorum Romanorum studiis Catullianis*, Breslau, 1876; Süß, *Catulliana*, in *Acta Seminarii Philol. Erlangensis*, I (1878); the editions of Schwabe (1886), p. vii, and Simpson (1879), p. 6; and, best of all, C. N. Cole, *De Vergilio Catulli Imitatore* (a Harvard doctor's dissertation, unpublished), 1901. Cole classifies and carefully sifts the parallels already discovered.

³ See F. Skutsch, *Aus Virgils Frühzeit*, 1901, p. 125 ff.

⁴ Ribbeck's substitution of 26 (on the basis of Statius, *Silv.* 2, 7, 64) for 16 in the *Vita* (see Ribbeck's *Appendix Vergiliana*, p. 19) would, if justified, prove the *Culex* spurious; for Virgil could not have written this inferior poem a year or two before his earliest eclogues. But is Statius's chronology any more surprising than that

pronounced in the poem than that of Catullus, but some reminiscences appear,¹ while various of the epigrams in the *Catalepton* are in Catullus's more boisterous manner (as VI and XII) and contain obvious parodies (as in VI and X). These minor poems, then, show us, as we should expect, that at the outset of Virgil's career his chief masters were the two great Roman poets of the day. What Baehrens² says of Catullus's influence on the young writers of the Augustan Age — *hic dux, hic magister erat ad poesin tendentibus* — applies aptly to Virgil.

Coming to the *Eclogues*, we find only a few, but these significant imitations. Several coincidences in phrase or metrical effect I will pass without discussion, directing the reader's attention rather to certain verses in the fourth *Eclogue*. The description of the Golden Age (v. 40) recalls that in Catullus 64, 39, while unquestionably the lines

'Talía saecula' suis dixerunt 'curríte' fusis
concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae

echo the refrain of the Fates' epithalamium in the same poem

Curríte ducentes subtegmína, curríte, fusi

with the verses standing immediately before and after the wedding-song —

Talía divínó fuderunt carmíne fata (322),
Talía praefantes quondam felícia Pelei
carmina divínó cecinerunt pectore Parcae (383).

This, I conceive, is imitation with a meaning.

Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* has been subjected to many interpretations in recent years, some of them as fantastic, if not as edifying, as that of the Christian fathers; yet much has been done toward making this strange poem more humane and intelligible to us. Warde Fowler, in an article in these *Studies*,³ has shown conclusively, by a skilful interpretation of the closing lines, that the poet sings of a real child. Marx,⁴ on other

of Martial (4, 14, 13), who pictures Catullus as humbly presenting his *Passer* to the great Virgil?

¹ See Süss, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² In his edition, p. 62.

³ XIV, p. 17 ff.

⁴ *Neue Jahrbücher für Phil. u. Päd.* I (1898), p. 105 ff.

grounds, had come to this conclusion, arguing also, in conformance with the most ancient tradition, that the child is Pollio's son, Asinius Gallus. Other recent writers¹ incline rather to the curious notion that the unborn Messiah was the offspring of Octavian and Scribonia, and turned out a girl, the empress Julia, of unhappy memory. But this supposition credits Virgil with little sense of humor at the time when he composed his poem. Many seers have prophesied a Golden Age; few have been rash enough to proclaim the sex of an unborn child. The poem was written in 40, after the birth of the child — Asinius Gallus was born in 41 — though the imaginative setting of the poem, as Fowler has shown,² is the moment of the birth. Finally, there remains an important question — the source and the purpose of the strange imagery in which Virgil clothes his prediction. The possibility of Virgil's using Hebrew literature at first or second hand — a possibility that none may safely deny — does not solve, but postpones the question. As Dr. Johnson long ago remarked,³ the exalted language seems out of proportion to the historical occasion which it celebrates; it bursts miraculously from a clear sky. Is this simply the exuberant bad taste of youth, or had Virgil a motive after all? One may be found, if we pay due attention to a poem, the evidence of which has not been adequately emphasized in recent discussions of the problem. Many have noted the close connection in sentiment and phrase between the fourth eclogue and Horace's sixteenth epode. Kiessling long ago⁴ detected clear traces of imitation on Virgil's part, declaring this a palpable compliment to his younger confrère, despite the essential difference in the sentiment

¹ Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Skutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Kroll in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, CXXIV (1905), p. 31.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

³ *Adventurer*, No. XCII, 1753. "That the golden age should return because Pollio had a son appears so wild a fiction, that I am ready to suspect the poet of having some other purpose which he took this opportunity of producing to the public."

⁴ *Philol. Untersuchungen*, 1881, p. 113, and in his edition of Horace, introduction to Epode 16. I have tried to show (*Trans. of Amer. Phil. Association*, XXXV, 1904, p. 136) that Horace later on treats Ovid with similar courtesy. Marx (*op. cit.*, p. 114, cf. also *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz dargebracht*, 1902, p. 136) endeavors to prove — I think unsuccessfully — that Epode 16 follows the fourth eclogue. Against his view may be cited Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen*, 1899, p. 205, and Norden (see below, p. 20, note 4).

of the two poems, and Sellar,¹ in his essay on Horace, acutely observes : "The only difference is that Horace seems to express the feelings of the losing side before the peace of Brundisium ; Virgil those of the winning side after its conclusion." But in Sellar's fuller discussion of the fourth eclogue² this observation is not developed further, and no recent writers, to my knowledge, except Professor Ramsay, in an article inaccessible to me,³ and Norden, in his splendid essay on Virgil's *Aeneid*,⁴ state clearly that Virgil's poem is an answer to the sixteenth epode. Horace, despairing of success, bids his countrymen depart for the happy isles and the blessings of the Golden Age ; Virgil, adopting naturally the same imagery, declares that the Golden Age is here and now — a belief to which Horace himself was later won.⁵ Some of the details in Virgil's picture come doubtless from the Sibylline oracle on which his prophecy is based — perhaps, as Marx's scholarly article goes far toward showing, there are connections direct or indirect with Isaiah after all. But for the motive of the poem, and part at least of the imagery, we need look no farther than Horace. That Horace had searched the scriptures for his vision of Atlantis — *credat Iudaeus Apella*.

But the eclogue has a definite relation to Catullus, too, as the imitations show. In his sixty-fourth poem, Catullus looks back with longing to the heroic past

O nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati
heroes, salvete, deum genus, o bona matrum
progenies, salvete iterum (v. 23)

and sighs that the blessed gods no longer walk with men (vv. 384 ff.). Such feeling is pure romanticism ; it is the spirit of Keats's *Endymion*, sentimental, not naive, in Schiller's memorable distinction. Catullus,

¹ *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, p. 123.

² *Virgil*, p. 144.

³ In the *Proceedings of the Franco-Scottish Society*, 1898. Fowler, p. 19, quotes with approval an interesting paragraph from this paper, but after criticizing the idea that the child is merely the representative of the new Roman generation he does not return, in discussing the sources of the poem, to Ramsay's more important suggestion (p. 34).

⁴ *Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit*, in *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.* VII. (1901), p. 252.

⁵ *Carm.* 4, 2, 37.

in his yearning for the primitive, corrects the ruder morality of Hesiod and idealizes the mythical world, even though his present story contains a Theseus.¹ Such sentiment is alien to the classic Virgil, whose sympathies, though they sweep through history, converge upon the present.² Virgil had studied the sixty-fourth poem with care and devotion, but here he rebukes, as an epic Augustan must, its fundamental tone. *Talia saecula*—these are not the dim ages of a perfect past. The fourth eclogue is the answer to Horace's pessimism and Catullus's romanticism.³

When Virgil turned to the *Georgics*, the spell of Catullus, for the moment, was not on him. As preparation for this greater undertaking, he immersed himself, first of all, in Lucretius. Here and there we detect a correspondence with Hesiod, or some uninspired didactic poet of the Alexandrine age, but these furnish mere facts, crude material, to be elevated by Virgil to poetry and good taste. The conception of Virgil as a conscientious metaphrast may appeal to hunters of coincidences, but the *Georgics* cannot be analyzed into its elements; Virgil is a magician, not a chemist. For all his works, he turns to one or two great poets who are masters of the spirit, the controlling idea, which he would possess; and them he studies. For the *Eclogues* it is Theocritus, for the *Georgics* Lucretius, for the *Aeneid*, and the latter half of the fourth *Georgic*, Homer. Not to deny the use of many other writers,⁴

¹ For admirable remarks on this matter, see G. Lafaye, *Catulle et ses Modèles*, 1894, p. 165 f.

² Norden's definition of the *Aeneid* as 'ein *romantisches* Nationalepos' is not true to his brilliant description of the essential spirit of Virgil's undertaking; the term does not apply to a work in which (p. 313) 'die römische Geschichte als ein grosser, aus Verheissung, Erwartung, Vorbereitung und Erfüllung planmässig sich zusammenschliessender Kreislauf erscheint, in dem Anfang und Ende unterscheidungslos sich vereinigen.' Norden's failure to appreciate the *Eclogues*—they betray 'unerquickliche Stilisierung' (p. 253)—is due to his first conceiving them as the work of an 'echter Romantiker' (p. 271). The best guide to the *Eclogues* is Milton's *Lycidas*.

³ *Aen.* 6, 648 hic genus antiquum Teucri . . . | magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis | Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor, contains, it would seem, a reminiscence of Catullus 64, 22. But the spirit cannot be the same. I agree with Forbiger, against Conington and others, that the "better years" are simply those of Troy's past, not the Golden Age. The sentiment is appropriate for Aeneas: it is not the poet's own.

⁴ P. Jahn, in several recent articles (*Hermes* XXXVIII, *Philol.* XVII, *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII) has added considerably to our knowledge of Virgil's sources, but lovers

these are his paramount models; these he turned over day and night, according to Horace's precept; from them he is not ashamed to reproduce the minutest details, not as a plagiarist, who cannot himself invent. For, if I may be pardoned a moment's digression on a well-worn theme, ancient poetry, particularly Roman poetry, was a near neighbor of liturgy, revealing even in its later stages the nature of the ritual, from which it sprang. Repetition of idea and phrase was not a mere license, but a poetic necessity; the principles governing the treatment of the myths in Greek tragedy applied also, in serious poetry, to the very choice of words. We should speak, in this matter, not of imitation, but of a kind of apostolic succession of imagery and phrase. This liturgical reëchoing of established diction in a new setting, a thoroughly Roman practice, yet not altogether Roman, as the stock lines and epithets of Homer show, we find of course in Virgil; but this is not mere metaphrase, and this is not the whole contents of his poetry.¹

In the *Georgics*, then, Virgil's attention is centred chiefly on Lucretius. Catullus appears in a stray phrase or refrain here and there, but these reminiscences, a half-dozen in all, have no special meaning.² Perhaps the most interesting is the reproduction, with a necessary alteration in the metrical effect, of a well-known verse. Catullus says of the apple which falls from the maiden's lap (65, 23)

atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu.

The rhythm is as successfully descriptive as Homer's line on the rolling stone. But Virgil, who is speaking of a rushing stream, cannot end the movement so abruptly (*G.* 1, 203):

atque illum praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.

It is in the *Aeneid* that we see how carefully Virgil had studied

of poetry will not relish his endeavor to squeeze the last drop of inspiration from Virgil's verse. Until more convincing proof is produced than these series of far-fetched parallels, one may be pardoned for finding the *Georgics* something more than laborious compilation tricked out with poetical embroidery.

¹ Heinze has a well-considered chapter on this matter (*Virgil's Epische Technik*, p. 235 ff.), though he treats solely of the construction of Virgil's narrative. Even better is Norden's discussion, *op. cit.*, p. 331 ff.

² P. Jahn adds several to the list (*Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, p. 394).

Catullus's verse. Now it is some striking epithet or phrase which he reproduces, as in the following instances and about a dozen more.

Sive quae septemgeminus colorat
 aequora Nilus (11, 7)
 et septemgeminus turbant trepida ostia Nili (*Aen.* 9, 582)
 ferarum gelida stabula (63, 53)
 stabula alta ferarum (*Aen.* 6, 179)
 carbasus obscurata decet ferrugine Hibera (64, 227)
 pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera (*Aen.* 9, 582)

Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis (66, 90)

Troia . . . virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli (*Aen.* 1, 566).

Again, not only a phrase, but the swing of an entire verse reappears in Virgil, as

Quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis (64, 156)
 Quid Syrtes, aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybdis (*Aen.* 7, 302)
 Invita o regina tuo de vertice cessi (66, 39)
 Invitus regina tuo de litore cessi (*Aen.* 6, 460).

This last instance, in which the words from Aeneas's solemn protest to Dido were spoken first by Berenice's lock, illustrates the remark of the Verona scholiast on *Aen.* 10, 557 that Virgil *neque temporis neque loci habet curam* in his imitations. Here and elsewhere it is merely the word or the rhythm that he appropriates, with no thought of the original setting — unhappily, sometimes, as in the present case.

Elsewhere, however, we are reminded irresistibly of the whole context from which the words are taken. This is a more important kind of imitation, since it presents a larger field for contrast, and openly challenges criticism. Some further purpose besides the desire to repeat is often manifest in these larger reproductions.

Multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
 optavere nurum (*Aen.* 11, 581)

conveys an obvious compliment to Catullus, in suggesting one of his most beautiful, and doubtless most familiar strains :

Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae (62, 42).

This is reëchoed by Ovid,

Multi illum iuvenes, multae tetigere puellae (*Met.* 3, 353).

On the other hand, another such imitation apparently corrects what Virgil considers a rhetorical mistake in his original. Catullus thus renders Homer's famous verse (*A* 1, 528) on the nod of Zeus :

Has postquam maesto profudit pectore voces
supplicium saevis exposcens anxia factis
adnuì invicto caelestum numine rector,
quo nutu tellus atque horrida contremuerunt
aequora concussitque micantia sidera mundus (64, 202).

Though the lines in themselves are striking, the added details in the closing description spoil the impressive climax of the original. Virgil remedies this fault, in his rendering, which appears twice in the *Aeneid* (9, 104; 10, 113) :

Dixerat idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris
per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas
annuit et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum

— lines that for their majestic resonance may well stand side by side with Homer. Perhaps Virgil is concerned only with Homer here; but perhaps, in view of his intimate acquaintance with the sixty-fourth poem, and the presence of *annuit* at the beginning of the line in both passages, he is thinking of Catullus too.¹ In that case the imitation becomes a kind of criticism.

Virgil was deeply impressed, like many readers since his day, with the tender sadness of the one hundred and first poem — *Frater Ave atque Vale*. Various scholars of the Renaissance detected an echo of this poem in the splendid passage at the opening of the eleventh *Aeneid*, where Aeneas pronounces the last words over the body of Pallas (v. 97) :

Salve aeternum mihi maxime Palla,
aeternumque vale.

If here the coincidence is due rather to the fact that both poets are repeating independently the formal language of the burial rite, at least

¹ So understood by Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

in the following instance, which, strangely, editors have not noticed, Virgil repeats Catullus directly. The first line of the poem

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus

reappears in the words with which Anchises welcomes Aeneas in the world below (6, 692) :

Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum
accipio !

This is the larger kind of imitation. Virgil takes more than the words ; he infuses something of the pathos of the " tenderest of Roman poets " into the longing of Anchises for his son. It is not accidental, either, that in the vision which is a kind of prophecy of this scene (*Aen.* 5, 722), Anchises's words should also suggest Catullus. The invocation

Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,
care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis

is modelled closely on the opening verses in Aegeus' parting injunction to his son (64, 215) :

Gnate mihi longe iucundior unice vita,
gnate, ego quem in dubios cogor dimittere casus.

In both these instances, then, Virgil appropriates the pathos of an entire scene from Catullus for an impressive moment in his own narrative.

More than this, Virgil studied Catullus profoundly for one of the most important episodes in his epic—the story of Dido. Here, naturally, he turns chiefly to the sixty-fourth poem and Ariadne ; his purpose is both to learn from his model, and to surpass it. Imitation is in evidence at the start. The description of the palace of Dido (*Aen.* 1, 637)

At domus interior regali splendida luxu

recalls that of the royal house in which Peleus and Thetis were wed —

Tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza (64, 46)

and at the opening of the fourth book, as the story of Dido is resumed, reminiscence at once reappears. The line

Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes (4, 10)

takes the reader back to

utinam ne . . . malus hic celans dulci crudelia forma
consilia in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes (64, 175)

and challenges his comparison of the heroines at the start. As the story proceeds, Dido's passion and her grief find expression more than once in refrains from the lament of Ariadne, as these passages instance :

saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu (4, 532)
prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis (64, 63)

per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos (4, 316)
sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos (64, 141)

felix si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae (4, 657)
utinam ne tempore primo
Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes (64, 171).

The fourth book contains likewise a reminiscence of another poem of Catullus

quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem (4, 599)
nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti (68, 119)

and, finally, the bit of the Cretan legend which appears at the beginning of the sixth book shows traces of Catullus again. The labyrinth is called *inextricabilis error* (v. 27) after Catullus's phrase *inobservabilis error* (v. 115), while

caeca regens filo vestigia (6, 30)

is modelled on

errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo (64, 113).

Virgil, then, in preparation for his story of Dido, had studied and absorbed the sixty-fourth poem of Catullus, and all along, by intentional imitation,¹ he invites the reader to compare the two heroines and the two stories. This is, in part, a sign of homage to his predecessor, in

¹ One or two other less striking coincidences which I have not included here are given by Danysz, *op. cit.*, p. 6 ff. The parallels in the two stories are carefully treated by Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

part a challenge to him. For Virgil has nothing to lose by the comparison. While Catullus gives us pathos at its highest, the fourth *Aeneid* is tragedy—tragedy of which Sophocles would not have been ashamed.

Though the above instances amply attest Virgil's respect for Catullus and the care with which he pondered his poems, two imitations, which I have reserved for the last, will put the matter beyond doubt. The proud words with which the Italian Remulus taunts the foreign invaders (*Aen.* 9, 617)

O vere Phrygiae (neque enim Phryges) ite per alta
Dindyma, ubi assuetis biformem dat tibia cantum,
tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecynthia Matris
Idaeae

are cited by various editors,¹ with passages from other poets, as a parallel for the feminine adjective in the *Attis*, but only one,² to my knowledge, has pointed out the direct imitation of this poem:

Agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul,
simul ite, Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora (v. 12)
ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant,
tibicen ubi canit Phryx (v. 21).

Everybody has noticed, also, the echo of Homer's 'Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐκέρ' Ἀχαιοί (*B* 235) but not the significance of thus mentioning Homer and Catullus in the same breath. To be sure, the strain is light in spirit, approaching comedy, in both epics, so that even an Alexandrine might be matched with the father of poetry. But the two appear again in a setting of tragedy. The beautiful simile which describes the death of Euryalus (*Aen.* 9, 435)

purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur

¹ See e. g. Ellis on 63, 12.

² Simpson, edition, p. 6. Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 116, thinks the coincidence here is accidental.

combines, as has long been noted, a suggestion from Catullus's lines (11, 22)

cecidit velut prati
ultimi flos praetereunte postquam
tactus aratro est

with Homer's

μήκων δ' ὥς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἧ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ
καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίησί τε εἰαρινῇσιν (Θ 306).

Lastly, the still finer simile in one of the most exalted passages in all Virgil, the lament for Pallas (11, 68)

qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,
non iam mater alit tellus viresque ministrat

recalls both the former imagery and the famous lines on the withered flower in Catullus's epithalamium (62, 39) from which we have noted a reminiscence in Virgil elsewhere.¹

What higher regard for a brother poet could be shown? Virgil is independent and an Augustan; his imitations in the fourth *Eclogue* and in the tragedy of Dido are a challenge to the pathos and romanticism above which, in his sixty-fourth poem, Catullus does not rise. But such rivalry is a contest over great issues with a respected opponent, a far remove from animosity or contempt. It is the spirit in which, if I read aright the close of the second *Georgic*, Virgil, in a different issue still, flings the gauntlet before his no less revered master Lucretius. So with Catullus, he imitates him in the little and in the large, and in both comedy and tragedy mates his verse with Homer's. Generous rivalry and high esteem—this is what we may read, I believe, in Virgil's imitations of Catullus.

This leaves us Horace as the only Augustan inimical, or possibly inimical, to Catullus. Horace is too subtle to be summarized in the paragraph remaining to me. But are not his references to his own accomplishments technically justified?² And in commenting on a cer-

¹ See above, p. 23.

² See Lafaye, *Catulle et ses Modèles*, pp. 13 and 22.

tain ape and would-be champion of the ancients who was

nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum (S. 1, 10, 19)

does he sneer at Catullus too? In satirizing a Methodist of Preraphaelite leanings — I hope I am not straining analogy — whose acquaintance with English poetry was limited to two of his recently sanctioned hymns, the *Crossing of the Bar* and the *Recessional*, we should not thereby intend disrespect to Tennyson or Kipling.¹ There are few, if any, direct reminiscences of Catullus in Horace,² and no outspoken praise of him — no mention at all except in the line just quoted. But Ovid, a declared admirer, does not mention him, either, in the very place where he treats of Roman love-poetry; we have noted the reason for this, and it holds for Horace, too.³ Horace approved the work of the youthful Ovid, if I am right in finding imitation of Ovid in his poetry;⁴ why should he not appreciate Alexandrines of the earlier school? His friendship for Valgius Rufus is beyond dispute,⁵ and this writer praises the school of Catullus, in the person of the poet Cinna, for whom Catullus in his ninety-fifth poem shows such regard.⁶ And does not Virgil's feeling for Catullus, of which I hope there is no further reason to doubt, throw some light on what Horace thought? Horace gives us, in his eleventh *Epode*, a sly satire on the erotic school,⁷ and there are touches of genial raillery in both his ode (1, 33) and his letter (1, 4) to Tibullus. But his affection for Tibullus is none the less obvious. Horace in his

¹ Cf. similar remarks by Riese, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

² Certainly Simpson's list, *op. cit.*, p. 6, needs vigorous pruning.

³ See above, p. 16.

⁴ *Transactions of Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XXXV (1904), p. 136.

⁵ See *Carm.* 2, 9, and *Sat.* 1, 10, 81 — the very satire which contains the "sneer" at Catullus.

⁶ One would imagine from Schwabe, edition, p. viii, that the testimony of Valgius is more explicit still. The Verona scholiast on Virgil, *Ecl.* 7, 22, quotes Valgius's lines on Codrus. Schwabe makes them read: *ille canit quali tu voce Catulle canebas | atque soles numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos, etc.*, but both in Keil, to whom Schwabe refers, and in the new edition of the Verona scholia by Thilo and Hagen, *Appendix Serviana*, 1902, p. 399, there is no mention of Catullus — the line runs, *Codrusque ille canit quali tu voce canebas* — nor can his name possibly be conjectured from the variant readings.

⁷ Convincingly shown by Plüsz, *Das Iambenbuch des Horaz*, 1904, p. 72.

second *Epode*¹ first rivals and then parodies one of Virgil's most splendid passages—the close of the second *Georgic*—and in an early poem not published till the second edition of the odes (4, 12) —for I cannot think this was written for some other Virgil—he presents the poet in a most ridiculous light. Yet his devotion to his best friend none would presume to deny. It is rash to classify a humorist like Horace; to prove him a foe of Catullus we really must fall back on the argument from silence—as dangerous here as elsewhere. But recognizing that Horace is a puzzle, or even admitting that for once he shows a tinge of human jealousy, I hope that the reader will find evidence in this paper for the justice of Riese's appeal, and agree that the phantom-idea which he denounced should not appear again in our estimate of the Augustans.

¹ Plüsz, *op. cit.*, p. 14, though here and elsewhere in this book the author's subtle fancy lures him to absurdities.